

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

THE SETTING

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).¹ During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

13

E
132

T
132
243
E
132
T
433
24

T
[161]
[464]
T

361
167 •
31
178
464

T
F
464
311
161

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Formosa AD1.

14

THE SETTING

T

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

174

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

T

F

174

167

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.² Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

F

175

504

167

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

F

175

167

167

504

442

443

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

F

369

464

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Taiwan AD6

Formosa AD1

THE SETTING

Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilineal and affinal relatives.

29

T
628
582
802

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.⁶ A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1955. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

T
161
162
127

T
[167] •

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905-1945) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1951b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1951b:13).⁷ For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953-1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114-115).⁸ The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953-1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114-115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in 'the organization of human activities'" (1951b:13).

F
161

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

Tn
161

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

TAIWAN AD6
FORMOSA AD1

T 34
592

THE SETTING

of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

T
161
162
592
T
16
592

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953-1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,685	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

T
162
161
592

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN
(from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for			
	1930	1940	1950	1953
0-14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15-39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40-64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

F
Tn
162

T
16
592

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

T
F
Tn
162

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)¹⁹ Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

T
167
464
162

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

THE SETTING

35

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0-10	206	32.1
11-20	159	24.8
21-30	88	13.7
31-40	78	12.2
41-50	45	7.0
51-60	34	5.3
61-70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953-1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

167
464
162

162
167
464
241

162

162
167
464
241

161
162

434
464
423

000

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.³⁸ Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food
261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta-
432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he
[439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice,
[443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any
number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant
merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing,
tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the
villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside
world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most
poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything
else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and
inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on
262 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed
574 guests, thriftiness regard for the kinds and quantities of food served be-
577 comes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his
fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but
the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests
are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural
262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every-
264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at
571 the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A
man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for exam-
ple, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at
harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer
000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

T

433

434

177

178

[654] 48

[423]

[242]

[167]

[621]

[628]

[602]

THE AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T

175

161

241

433

464

[434]

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T

241

312

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

T

[433]

[433]

[433]

Tm

243

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

THE AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

87

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

312
628
57
[829]

312
128
474

178
311
[44]
[423]
[167]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

CHANGING LAND TENURE

ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR Hsin Hsing VILLAGE:
PRE-LAND REFORM (1951-1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (chia)	1951-1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1-0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5-1.0	12	13.0	19	21.1
1.0-1.5	15	14.1	24	26.7
1.5-2.0	4	4.3	6	6.7
2.0-2.5	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.5-3.0	1	1.1	5	5.6
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

107 423
427
178

423
178
162

423
178

423
464
162
[162]

423 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained
464 registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the
• 167 village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in
the village house.

423 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of
592 family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among
888 their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house
or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a
rotation basis.

423 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the
434 landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn
464 additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less
than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these fam-
ilies, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are
too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income,
some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but
most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued
population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more
and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land
511 reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land,
the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater
application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating
costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who
bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual
payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher
amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for
similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on
the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the
time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought
about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government
do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or
the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land,
the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers
were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89-91) has
pointed out,

A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a
tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that
of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those
of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His
income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . .
The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be
no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to (being a) full owner-
farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

423 120

CHANGING LAND TENURE

432 recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase
 [427] on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

423 The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be
 556 an ossification of socioeconomic mobility within the rural area. The
 178 traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for
 [167] those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

423

161

167

[128]

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

[17]

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

464

423

166

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT \$10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT \$6 to NT \$12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957-1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

000
443
464
493
[602]
[465]

463
[434]
[78]

464
249
166

46
294

[439]

464
434
167
[624]

464
167

464
• 167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

[472]

[462]

[357]

[466]

[362]

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

464

167

883

783

593

[466]

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

464

167

[578]

[595]

[837]

[434]

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

462

178

167

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

CHANGING LAND TENURE

children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hain Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hain Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hain Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

123 462
178

(592)
(855)

857
178

167
593

167
62
369

(796)

167
593
596
369

167
593
596
369
Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

167
423
178
464
556
454
Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

167
423
178
464
829
It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.⁸ This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

167
464
423
241
The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

178
829
At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

CHANGING LAND TENURE

125

be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying "*Men t'ang hu tui*," which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are success-

178
829167
178
369
829178
244
434178
829
167
369

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

126

CHANGING LAND TENURE

- 178 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change
• 167 their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living.
829 They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of
369 change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and
urban center, have been an important external influence toward
change in village life.

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

131

by one *tsu*. The single-*tsu* village is known locally as "*yi hsing ts'un*" ("one surname village"), and in the literature is commonly called a "clan village."

618

The Multi-Tsu Village

Today, most of the villages in the Hsin Hsing area are populated by several *tsu* groups, plus a number of families not affiliated with any of the village *tsu*; these are called "*tsa hsing ts'un*" ("mixed surname villages") and are sometimes referred to in the literature as "multi-kin villages" or "segmented communities." In the Hsin Hsing area they are of the type with a marked tendency toward local exogamy. In these villages, unlike the single-*tsu* village, no individual *tsu*'s activities coincide with those of the village organization.

Hsin Hsing, a multi-kin village, was first settled by immigrants from Fukien who came to Taiwan in small groups of three or four men. After examining the area, these men finally founded the village of Hsin Hsing. Soon after this, and throughout the years that followed, people of other surnames came to this easily accessible plains area and settled down in the village. As time passed, the families of some of the earliest arrivals grew into what now comprise the several village *tsu* groups. Of these, the larger *tsu* are the ones which go back to the early period of the village founding and have therefore had the time as well as advantageous circumstances which have enabled them, relatively speaking, to increase their number of member families and population. Others with perhaps equally long village histories are still small because circumstances somehow prevented their expansion. Some of these have few members in a small number of related families; several are still in individual unrelated family units. The latter have simply produced too few surviving children, so that they have never expanded their numbers sufficiently to have more than a single male heir in a generation to carry on the male line. Others are of relatively recent origin in the village; some only three generations, not yet long enough to have expanded their membership and number of associated family units.

[167]

However, in Hsin Hsing village even the relatively older and larger *tsu* are far simpler and less elaborated organizations than Freedman's (1958) somewhat less complex "type A" *tsu*. But as we shall see, they share many features of structure and function which differ primarily in degree rather than in kind. The *tsu* organization of Hsin Hsing, in this respect, is rather representative of the general area and more than likely of much of the mainland.

The lack of elaboration of the size and organization of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* can be attributed to two main causes. The relatively short history of both the village and of the *tsu* organizations has meant a

596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process 594 through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form 434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most 578 common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devious forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were [700] conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as [167] he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

143

596

434

578

606

[562]

596

434

606

578

596

434

167

369

464

596

434

651

702

423

596

593

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

596 146

594

618

596

618

769

353

778

• [167]

596

618

769

[82]

[82]

stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1923:145-146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

[182]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *siaosiu* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *siaosiu* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship: no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *siaosiu* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *siaosiu* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *siaosiu* adop-

165 597
583
78
[162]
[511]
[584]
[167]

597
583
584
571

597
583
178
584

[593]

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

593 166

597

583

584

198

[464]

[167]

tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sisosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

597

[597]

[114]

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tsu wu yu tsu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hain Hsing there were only

584
178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584
178
169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility: men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584
593
178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.³

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

VILLAGE IN CHANGE

273

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division; but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, division is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

59
178
[171][161]
[167]
[423]
[562]
[582]
[606]59
65
178
[702]
[423]59
178
171
618621
628
609
178

178 native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42-45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71-75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

178 Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

369 Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
People's Republic of China AF18
Taiwan AD6

T
558 280

VILLAGE IN CHANGE

178 redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to
184 equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not
621 stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher
627 status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has
[558] clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests
in such community service.

T
621 The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and
627 thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by
178 a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the
[558] conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live
harmoniously together.

T
[433] Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village
[67] as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market
economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to
cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer con-
cerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving
harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for
many people, it is no longer practically universal.

T
178 Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life
621 and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement
628 beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now
[618] have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of
solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and
consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not
particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily
for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is
more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to
further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent
with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further de-
pendency on and need of the outside.

Tn
PRC relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a
178 result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been
621 accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Com-
369 munist during this last decade and a half. The more extreme break-
PRC down of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now
[668] apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed
to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such
traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group.
However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears
likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbani-
zation and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded
up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The Village

mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

175
11 173
124
126

596*
173
195
613
167
[26A]

596*
613
173
173

596*
613
173
[124]

175 It is important to realize that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

127 The local history of the village naturally meshes
175 with the brief general picture described above.³ It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.⁴

175 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830)
167 in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

- 175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
• 167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of
time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of
Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for
land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land
was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth
century, migration had been heavy for a long period of
time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown.
In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[351] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled
in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a
ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny.
The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite
poor. It appears that this was the second village to be
settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently
established within a five year period. Moreover, the
entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to
be cleared and crops established while under the constant
threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which
surrounded each village can still be found slightly below
ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines
as recently as 1920.

776 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
778 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was